

Democracy and Neo-Nationalism under the EU Enlargement

-----The Effect of the Globalization and Democratization----

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During and after the Iraq War, the difference of world strategy and security policy between the USA and the EU, emerged widely.

At the end of 2003, the EU announced New World Orders, and European Security Policy, and pronounced not by war for democracy, but the stability and prosperity, or cooperation and dialogue, diversity brings coexistence of the world against terrorism.

The author investigates here especially the relationship between nationalism and democratization of citizenship from the end of Cold War, especially at and after the Iraq war under the enlargement of the EU.[

Generally, nationalism in Central and Eastern Europe has been written about or discussed as immature democracy. However, recent neo-nationalism cannot be explained by this connotation.

Furthermore, neo-nationalism might be explained by the effect of the introduction of democracy, or more precisely of the introduction of democratic procedure, to the multinational states, or heterogeneous value's society.

Under such heterogeneous society, the democratic system worked another style, as dark side of democracy, ethnic cleansing, because the minorities always does not succeed to make admitted their own minor interest. which Michael Mann investigates. Or such "countries between" Germany and Russia, always had to have a strong and genuine spirit for freedom and liberal nationalism historically and traditionally, because only liberalism against oppression by large autocratic powers saved their nations and allowed them to continue.

Moreover, nowadays ironically, even in democratic societies in Western Europe, when wide gaps have emerged between the national elite interest and citizens interest, citizens decry the government or politics, and populism or strong xenophobia (not only against their government but even stronger antagonism against foreigners, especially immigrants) grows quickly, as does radical nationalism.

This has been explained as the deficit of democracy. It is true if we investigate it in one country's framework, as perpendicular relations.

But comparing other countries, if we investigate laterally, it is not only

the deficit of democracy, but rather question of “participating democracy”.

Participating democracy complicates issues, because each countries’ “civic interests” oppose and interfere each other, especially between Eastern and Western Europe.

For example, about the immigration: From the western point of view, immigration needs to be prohibited or limited in order to save their own counties unemployed, or to protect security and order. It is the menace for western people to disturb their stability and prosperity.

But seen from eastern point of view, it looks like western countries are following a double standard and interfere with their own rules, because the free movement of people, goods, money, services, and information is the very first and essential subject for the regional integration and achieving membership in the EU. Eastern citizens also complain about the CAP agrarian subsidies, in which the vested interest protects in the western countries, in France, and Spain. The effect is that governmental parties have been defeated in many countries and populist parties have gotten a high percentage vote, not only among former members of the EU but also among the 10 new member countries, too.

Why now nationalism, populism or antagonism is rising among citizens in Enlarged Europe? This is the theme of this article.

I. Democracy and Nationalism under the Enlarged EU ¹

Nowadays, one of the most important subjects of the enlarged EU is nationalism---one is the protection of the national Interests of citizens, and the

¹ About the Democracy and Nationalism under the Enlarging the EU, see the following : *The Radical Right in Central and Eastern Europe since 1989*, ed by Sabrina P. Ramet, Pennsylvania State University Press, Pennsylvania, 1999. Stefan Auer, *Liberal Nationalism in Central Europe*, Routledge Curzon, London and New York, 2004. Christian W. Haerpfer, *Democracy and Enlargement in Post-Communist Europe, 1991-1998*, Routledge, London and New York, 2004. *Europeanization and Regionalization in the EU's Enlargement to Central and Eastern Europe*, James Hughes, Gwendolyn Sasse and Claire Gordon, Palgrave, Macmillan, Hampshire, 2004. *Europeanisation and Democratisation, Institutional Adaptation*, ed. by Roberto Di Quirico, European Press Academic Publishing, Florence, 2005, *Globalization, Regionalization and the History of International Relations*, Eds. By Joan Beaumont and Alfredo Canavero, Edizioni Unicopli, Deakin University, 2005. Sabrina Petra Ramet, *Social Currents in Eastern Europe, The Sources and Consequences of the Great Transformation*, Duke University Press, Durham and London, 1995, The author also research about the Enlargement of the EU and NATO and Europeanization of Central and Eastern Europe, and Democratization and Nationalism 17 years after the Cold War. My main books and article on Enlarging EU, is : Kumiko Haba, *Integration Europe and Nationalist Questions*,(Kodansya, Tokyo, 1994, *Enlarginb Europe and Gloping Central Europe*, Iwanami, Tokyo, 1998, *Perspective of European Integration*,Jinbunshoin, Tokyo, 2001, *Globalization and European Enlargement*, Ochyanomizushobo, Tokyo, 2002, *The Challenge of the Enlarging Europe---Will it become a Multilateral Power besides the USA?*, Chuo Koronsinsya, Tokyo, 2004, *Easterrn Enlargement of Europe*, ed. by Kumiko Haba, Akio Komorida, and Soko Tanaka, Iwanami, Shoten, Tokyo, 2006.

other is neo-nationalism of minorities and immigrants.

The reflection of the citizen's voice is also relevant to nationalism and chauvinism in boycotting of "Others"---strangers to one's own countries. Under the process of the enlargement of the EU and democratization, and in spite of supra-nationalism or trans-nationalism, why is nationalism recovering its spirits all over the world now? The rise of nationalism is not only a European issue, but also a subject in the US, Japan, China, and the world. In this chapter, the author wishes to investigate and analyze nationalism's new prosperity in the 21st Century through the enlarging EU.

After the End of the Cold War and the Collapse of the Socialist System in Eastern Europe in 1989, the euphoria of liberty and independence covered all of Eastern and Western Europe, "There is one integrated Europe, and we return to (that one) Europe!". 18 years later, the EU has enlarged to 27 countries, including Romania, Bulgaria from 1 January 2007. Almost all of Europe has integrated, except the former Yugoslavia and others.

The EU declared it would play an important role in the New World Orders at the end of 2003², criticizing the US unilateralist policy toward the Iraq War under globalization. After the Iraq War, the EU started to actively participate in the International Questions cooperating with the United Nations, as well as the East Asian issue, and North Korean issue. The role of the enlarged EU is to lead the international norm in areas like citizenship, human rights and democratization through economic development and peaceful ways, taking a significant position in the International society.

On the other hand, the end of the Cold War brought the era of democracy. After the collapse of the socialist system, liberalization and democratization was enjoyed, and the CIS and former Eastern Europe started to contest for democratization. As Anthony Lake, an American presidential aide has noted, through the enlargement policy of democratization, rather than the containment policy against Soviet Union under the Cold War, "The Pax Democratia" is penetrating all over the world³. It comes from the universal idea of the post Cold War, making peace by the US power, and making some provocative debate.

However, Francis Fukuyama's prediction of *The End of History* through the victory of democracy didn't happen, and regional and national conflicts

² *Constructing World Orders, Pan European International Conference*, The Hague, Sept 2004, Establishing New World Orders, ECSA World, Brussels, December, 20004. T.R. Reid, *The United States of Europe, The New Superpower and the End of American Supremacy*, Penguin Books, New York, 2004. Charles Kupchan, *the End of the American Era*, New York, 2002.

³ Bruce Russett, *Pax Democratia*, translate, Takehiko Kamo, Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, Tokyo, 1990, p. 2.

occurred in the real international society during the 1990s. Samuel Huntington analyzed them as *The Clash of Civilizations*, and induced the European-American cohesion policy against these situations⁴. During the Central Europe's democratization, Balkan countries collapsed their federalist systems, formed nation states, and started the national-regional conflicts. Transformation for democratization after the end of the Cold War brought the rise of nationalism all over the world. Nationalism started to assert itself under democratization and globalization.

<Three types of Nationalism>

The rise of nationalism under globalization and European integration can be divided into three types: 1) radical nationalism, 2) liberal nationalism and 3) xenophobic nationalism.

1) Radical Nationalism and Ethnic Cleansing

Sabrina P. Ramet, Professor of International Relations at Washington University, analyzed the rapid growth of the radical right in the process of democratization in former Eastern Europe. Michael Mann, Professor of Sociology at UCLA, indicates in his famous book "Dark side of Democracy" that "democracy has always carried with it the possibility that the majority might tyrannize minorities, and this possibility carries more ominous consequences in certain types of multiethnic environments."⁵

However the examination of the concrete issue of the relationship between democratization and nationalism was avoided deliberately, and conventionally expression of radical nationalism was assumed to be the effect of the immaturity of democracy. But seeing the Nazis' Germany, Stalin's Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Rwanda, Northern Ireland and the US, we can understand that democracy and massacre of minorities can be concomitant, so we have to investigate why democracy brought such "ethnic cleansing". He stressed that "there is always the possibility and peril of the autocracy against minorities by majorities under the democratic nation states"⁶.

2) Liberal Nationalism and Democratization

On the other hand, "liberal nationalism" widened under the democratizing Central and Eastern Europe in 1990s. Stefan Aurel, Professor of

⁴ Francis Fukuyama, translated Shoichi Watanabe, *The End of the History*, Mikasa shobo, Tokyo, 1992, Samuel Huntington, Translate Shuzei, *The Clash of Civilization* Shueisya, Tokyo 1998.

⁵ *The Radical Right*, ed. by Sabrina P. Ramet 1999, Michael Mann, *The Dark Side of Democracy, Explaining Ethnic Cleansing*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2005. *European Neo Right*, ed., by Yamaguchi Yasushi and Takahashi Susumu, Asahi Shimbunsha, 1998, Kumiko Haba, *Globalization and European Enkargement*, Ochanomizu Shyobo, 2002.

⁶ Michael Mann, *ibid.*, p.2. At first, the term of „ethnic cleansing“ was made by advertisement agency in the US, and widened all over the world. Takagi Toru, *War advertising agency*, Kodansya, 2002.

Dublin University writes in his book, “Nationalism is negative connotations in Central Europe. Michnik, and Havel, who are fierce opponents of nationalism could be labeled ‘Liberal nationalists’. The bias favouring patriotism against nationalism is shared by Western republican tradition, concerning with political solidarity, citizenship as a desirable alternative⁷.

It was considered conventionally by many researchers that nationalism in Eastern and Central Europe was backward nationalism and it was impossible to form democracy of the Western type like that of France and the UK, and that such democracy would change to Eastern type nationalism. But Auel writes that there was such nationalism in Central Europe, patriotic but not chauvinistic, and not xenophobic but friendly to foreign countries nationalism. That means proto-liberal nationalism combining a European identity and European system ⁸.

3) Deficit of Democracy and Xenophobic Nationalism

However, from the middle of the 1990s, mainly from 2000-2001 turn of the century, the radical right and neo-nationalism was growing quickly in almost all European countries. North Alliance and Forza-Italia by Silvio Berlusconi in Italy, Joerg Heider’s Freie Democratiche Partei in Austria, Jean-Marie LePen’s Front National in France, and the Pim Fortein Party in Netherlands, were all insisted and declared to defend their national interests and citizen’s interests, and criticized government and attacked immigrants. They advocated the protection of liberal farmers from unemployment, Euro-Skepticism, anti-immigration, anti-EU policy, and agitating national rights and interests⁹.

Many organized violent attacks against “Others” (that is, against immigrants and foreign companies) began not only in the Balkans and Central and Eastern Europe, but also in the EU Eastern Borders at first, and even in the middle of Western Europe in France, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom.

Moreover, the referendum on the ratification of the European constitutional treaty was rejected on 30 May in France and 3 June in Netherlands in succession, and further ratification was interrupted.

In France, demonstrations by labor and the unemployed broke out, and in

⁷ Stefan Auer, *Liberal Nationalism*, 2004, p.19

⁸ Stefan Auer, *ibid.*, pp.58-59. The example was Polish Aristocracy’s Republic like Sirafta’s Republic. *West and East in Modern Europe*, ed. by Kinnichi Ogura, Yamakawa shuppansha, 2004.

⁹ About European Radical Nationalism and Skeptisism, see : Herbert Kitschelt et al, *The Radical Right in Western Europe*, University of Michigan Press, 1997. Robert Hammsen et al, *Euroceptisism*, European Studies, 2005. *Nationalism Reframed Nationhood and the National Question in the New Europe*, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1996. Kumiko Haba, *Globalization and European Enlargement*, 2002.

response, riots by immigrants against anti-immigrants and discriminatory policies¹⁰.

Seeing from these issues, recent trends toward nationalism are not from the “immaturity of democracy”, but occur in the process of overcoming the deficits of democracy, and of introducing the “people’s participation in democracy”. It means among “the people”, who are composed of inhabitants in towns, farmers, minorities, unemployed or unskilled workers, widening xenophobic nationalism and antagonism against “Others” while their national and European identity grows. How is it connected with the enlarging EU?

II. The Discussion of the EU

1). Is the EU declining under Globalization and Nationalism?

“The EU is declining”, stated Péter Balázs, the former EU Ambassador of Hungary, former EU Commissioner, and now Professor of Central European University, at the International Conference by the EU’s Jean Monnet Project by Professor Antonio Papisca in Padua in March 2006. “The questions of immigrants, minorities and border are those of the most significant issues. However these issues cause the discrimination and opposition under the globalization and enlargement of the EU¹¹.

Under the globalization from the 1980s to the 21st century, free movement of labor, increasing immigrants, and the widening of the EU’s Eastern borders, nationalism questions are widening all over Europe. Nationalism in the enlarging EU is just the expression of the effects of globalization and the wave of democratization which cannot be avoided in this era.

On the other hand, Teo Zommer, the *Zeit* main-editor protests these opinions. He writes “*Don’t cooperate with the EU decline*” and cautions against widening Euro-skepticism. He insists that Europe always overcame these difficulties historically; even now there are many problems like interruption of European Constitutional Treaty or economic nationalism and newcomers’ problems of adjustment. He estimates European potential soft power, and the main subject is the surmounting of nationalism and Euro-skepticism¹².

Jose Manuel Barroso, the President of the European Committee of enlarged 25 countries, criticized the economic nationalism of France and Italy, saying “integration priority” but stumbling on the priority. He also insists on

¹⁰ Emanuel Todd, *French riot is Social revolt*, << *Nikkei News Paper*>>, 12 November, 2005.

¹¹ Péter Balázs, *Enlargement of the EU and the Human Rights*, Jean Monnet International Project, Padua, Italy, 24-26 March, 2006.

¹² Teo Zommer, *Don’t take sides with European declining*, << *Asahi News paper*>>, 4 April, 2006.

the social security based on the idea of a social Europe, besides the economic development and competitiveness¹³.

Hungarian political scientist Ágh Attila notes that participatory democracy progressed in Eastern Europe historically. In Western Europe, elite democracy, structural democracy, and such representative councils were developed, but in Eastern Europe independence and national movements developed under and against the rule of the Habsburg Monarchy, Ottoman Empire, and the Soviet Union¹⁴. However, their movements also often changed to the boycott of Others, other nations, and minorities.

Why did the democratization of Central and Eastern Europe divide into liberal nationalism and radical nationalism? What was the turning point? And why are nationalism and xenophobia in Western and Eastern Europe erupting as mutual distrust, antagonism, or economic protectionism in the process of correcting the deficits of democracy and participatory democracy? Where do democracy and nationalism coincide and where do they revert to national interest and boycott of Others (minorities)?

2). What is Democracy? What is Nationalism?

What is democracy? According to the *Encyclopedia of Sociology*¹⁵, it comes from Greek demos + kratos, and started from the directed democracy and adhocacy, republic and liberal democracy, and recent representative parliamentalism of Western Europe and the USA. Recent subjects are equality of ruler and ruled, homogeneity and equality of members, as well as self-autonomy, participation, and detachment, subsidiarity.

What is nationalism, on the other hand? Ernest Gerner indicates “Nationalism is a political principle which political and national unit harmonizes each other, and it progresses under the modernization and industrialization. According to Anthony Smith, “Nationalism lays on the human loyalty above all, over the religions and philosophy. It advocates political behavior and solidarity for their motherlands” (Encyclopedia of International Politics)¹⁶.

Both democracy and nationalism have diversity, instability and

¹³ President of European Commission, Jose Barosso, *Economic Nationalism in France and Spain*; stressed a severe management, Asahi News Paper, 20 April, 2006. Jose Barosso, President of European Commission, *For further Development of Japan-EU Relations*, A Chamber of Commerce in Tokyo, Lecture, 21 Aprilm 2006.

¹⁴ Ágh Attila, *Institutional Design and Regional Capacity-Building in the Post-Accession Period*, Hungarian Center for Democracy Studies, 2005.

¹⁵ *Democracy*, by Michitoshi Takabatake, *Encyclopedia of Sociology*, Kobundo, 1988.

¹⁶ Ernest Garner, Translated Kato Setsu, *Nation and Nationalism*, Iwanami System, 2000. Anthony Smith, translated by Yasushi Susana, *Nationalism in the 20th Century*, Horsts Bunkashya, 1995. *Nationalism*, by Jun Osawa, *Encyclopedia of International Politics*, 2005.

complexities which depend on each region and nation (people), and which cannot be defined precisely even by hundreds of encyclopedias or libraries. Both has peoples rule and participation as part of their etymology, but **where** do they go past the investigation of rational self- and others- interests, and turn into loyalty and solidarity for the motherland and the boycott or attack against others? After all, people (citizen, folk, farmer, mass, nation) themselves are very variable and diverse. Even within the 17 years after the Cold War, there are some variations of nationalism under the democratization.

(1) Liberal nationalism protecting citizens' interests, widening the regional and class gap after the collapse of Socialism and globalization.

(2) Radical nationalism which protects national (people's) interests, and when damaged by others, attacks violently, destroys "others", and protects their own unity¹⁷.

(3) Xenophobic nationalism which evades foreign people and companies when they spoil national interests, and excludes immigrants and aliens even if they are social losers and the poor.

I will investigate these three nationalisms which are emerging under the enlarging EU.

III. Democratization and **Liberal Nationalism** in Central Europe in the 1990s

Proto-liberal nationalism in Central Europe which exists "between" historical and geographical Big Powers (Germany and Russia), always insisted on liberty and independence from the rule of these big powers, and established their own republic and democracy, which Stefan Auer or Ogura wrote about in their books¹⁸.

There are not a few books about nationalism and democracy in Central Europe in the process of enlarging the EU.

Liberal nationalism generally has its roots in the historical tradition of Central Europe, and indicates that their liberalization, democratizing and freedom cohesion to the Europeanization of their countries, like "Return to Europe". Concretely, they protect their own rights and interests coexisting

¹⁷ About Liberal Nationalism, see: Stefan Auer, *Liberal Nationalism*, 2004, and Views from Central and Eastern Europe, Balogh András, *Integráció és Nemzetiérdek*, Budapest, About Radical Nationalism, see; *The Radical Right*, 1999, Kumiko Haba, *Integrating Europe and Nationality Questions*, Kodansha Gendaishinsho, 1994.

¹⁸ Stefan Auer, *Liberal Nationalism*, 2004, p.58. Kinichi Ogura, *West and East in Modern Europe*, Yamakawa, 2004. *National and European Identities in EU Enlargement*, ed. by Petr Drulak, Prague, 2001. *Democratization in Central and Eastern Europe*, Ed. by Mary Kaldor and Ivan Vejvoda, London and New York, 1999.

with Europeanization,

In Poland, for example, the historical and traditional republican system like *Respublica-Rzeczpospolita* by the Polish aristocracy (*Szlachta*) consists of the relation between religion and nation state, religious education, and criticism of abortion. It is strongly connected with Western European culture, especially Christianity and conservative democracy. This might be the basis of Polish liberal democracy and it sometimes has a similarity with American neo (religious) conservatism. Polish patriotism is essentially liberal, and is completely different from national chauvinism or xenophobia, respecting diversity and pluralism like Adam Michnik, based on Solidarity, write Auer¹⁹. Their nationalism for liberty and independence always combines strongly with the support of liberal democracy of Europe and the USA like Frederic Chopin and Adam Mickiewicz, and Tadeusz Kosciuszko historically.

Czech people also have their own traditional liberal nationalism. And it mainly puts their confidence in democracy against the German autocracy's rule. So Czech nationalism has an exclusion of the German influence from modernization and industrialization, and it finally led to expulsion of German people from the Sudetenland. Czech nationalism is based on the democracy under the 19th century Slavic idea of peace and equality. Tomas Masaryk's idea of liberty and independence also followed such historical and traditional Czech nationalism. Vaclav Havel, president of the Czech Republic after the Cold War, was the symbol of such Czech nationalism which integrates traditional liberal democracy with morals and norms.

The new Czech Republic started again to cooperate with Germany, and apologized to German people for the German exile after the Second World War. However, it sometimes has superiority complex towards neighbor countries and has been especially negative against the Balkan national conflicts and their deadlocks ²⁰.

On the other hand, Hungarian nationalism is a more pragmatic one which cooperates with democratization and Europeanization. Hungary has moved to introduce foreign investment and foreign companies actively, and promoted the rapid economic development. In their background, there are foreign Jewish companies and assistance from monetary capitalists like Gorgy Soros and others. Hungary organized "Visegrad regional cooperation" after the failure of a coup d'état by Soviet military and conservatives and collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, aggressively organized security with their neighbors and accessed the top of NATO. Under the framework of the Europeanization, they

¹⁹ Auer, *Liberal Nationalism*, pp.77-80. p. 84.

²⁰ Auer, *op. cit*, pp. 101-121, pp.127-129.

enjoyed the most political and economic stability and development among Central European countries.

<Neo-Nationalism Rising from the Right and Left>

However, under just such a wave of neo-liberal marketization and democratization, based on the achievement of the Copenhagen criteria to join to the EU, neo-nationalism, especially the right radical movement, developed in Central Europe from the early 1990s.

For example, Istvan Csurka's MIEP(Justice and Life Party) in Hungary, Andrzej Lepper's Self-Defense in Poland, Daniela Todor's Great Romanian Party in Romania, or Vladimir Meciar's Democratic Slovakian Movement in Slovakia. They actively advocate the protection of nations, and regard liberalization and privatization as the introduction of Jewish capital which spoils their national capital, criticize Europeanization and foster Euro-skepticism, are against globalization and Americanization, foster anti-Semitism, and are against national minorities. At first these forces didn't get much peoples support.

But just after the general election joining the EU in 2004, reflecting before and after the difficulties of the negotiation of immigrants, CAP agrarian questions and budget issues, there neo-nationalists grew in power again, and many nationalists and radical rights got new parliament power just after joining the EU²¹.

The difficulty of domestic policy of each country after the enlargement of the EU makes radical nationalism grow in Central European countries in which liberal nationalism is strong historically.

IV. Radical Democracy and **Radical Nationalism** in Balkan in 1990s

On the other hand, the case of Balkan countries is quite different from Central Europe. In Central Europe, government and citizens could adjust their interests with the European one by democratization and Europeanization at least until the joining the EU. But Balkan countries, especially the former Yugoslavia, were completely different. Yugoslavia was a champion of so-called non-alliance and self-management socialism in Josie Brow Tito's era, and strongly pulled together such heterogeneous nationalities, and went a self

²¹ About the Polish new Government in May 2005, http://www.plemb-japan.go.jp/relations/j_jousei060509.htm About Slovakia, http://www.jetro.go.jp/biz/world/europe/middle_east/pdf/slovakia2006.pdf
Kumiko Haba, *Globalization and European Enlargement*, Ochanomizusyobo, 2002, 04.

independent way against Soviet rule.

But after the Cold War and under the process of making independent nation states, each heterogeneous nationality conflicted with and excluded “other” nationalities violently and militarily. Therefore in 1991, the former Yugoslavian Federation was destroyed by the independence of Slovenia and Croatia, and quick approval by Germany and Vatican. Furthermore, national and regional conflict aggravated historically such regions of multinational coexistence, like Bosnia and Kosovo, and brought the Bosnian and Kosovo bombing ²². Why did such things happen there?

1). Radical Democracy and Radical Nationalism

The national conflict of former Yugoslavia is an example of a combination of radical nationalism and radical democracy²³. After the collapse of the Socialist system, formation of nation states, as the direct reflection of the majorities changed, to the majority’s autocracy.

In the Socialist era, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union functioned by the pyramid structure of democratic centralism of the communist system and each nation’s regional autonomy under the socialist federal states based on multi-national coexistence. It worked as a combination of the absolute centralized ruling system and regional autonomy, and made possible many nationalities regions to include one federal state, and formed stabilized and structural framework which prevented the national conflicts for 40 years!

However, the enlargement of democratization and of the majority’s value by free election collapsed that multinational and stabilized order under the communist system.

The spokesman of democracy in former Yugoslavia became majority’s Serbia’s insistence, which stripped out the communists autocratic but paternalistic norms. The spokesman of the rich “regional” majority in Croatia and Slovenia insisted on their own interests, and could not compromise with the first majority nation, and declared independence one after another. Therefore the introduction of democracy caused not integration and stability, but disruption and collapse of federalism.

According to radical nationalism, Slobodan Milosevic in Serbia and Nevjeste Lugova in Kosovo are spokesmen of their own countries and their own

²² From Balkan national conflict until Kosovo Bombing, Process and accounting, *Beyond EU Enlargement*, Vol 2. *The Agenda of Stabilisation for Southeastern Europe*, Bertelsmann Foundation Publishers, 2001. *Kosovo and the Challenge of Humanitarian Intervention*, ed. by Albrecht Schnabel and Ramesh Thakur, United Nations University Press, 2000.

²³ About Radical Democracy, Akira Kawahara, *Radical Democracy and Global Democracy*, <<Political Science in the 20th century>>, Japan Political Science Association, Iwanami syoten, 1999, pp167-180.

majority as populists, and excluded and oppressed minorities according to majorities interests, as democracy by majority.

Thus, the radical democratic system by majority in a multinational country legitimized thorough radical exclusion---ethnic cleansing and massacre²⁴.

In Central and Eastern Europe also exist many multinational states. However there are few such cases as the former Yugoslavia in which radical nationalism bursts out. Why did the brutal national conflicts continue a longtime only in the former Yugoslavia and not in other regions? What separated Yugoslavia from other countries like Romania and Bulgaria?

2). The Cause of Widening the Radical Nationalism

What caused radical nationalism in Yugoslavia? Many multinational countries like the Soviet Union, China, and India have also suffered from regional and national conflicts, but didn't widen like the former Yugoslavia.

A first and most important reason might be regional and ethnic autonomy and federalism in the former Yugoslavia. It was centralized by a communist system, but not by ethnic structure; generally each region was an independent autonomous structure in Tito's Yugoslavia. Each region was autonomous to each majority nationality, and they were not centralized and Serbian, but communist system. So when the communist centralized system collapsed, it was very easy for the multinational federalism to collapse. Other countries was not so federalized and regionally independent, but rather more concentrated one-party system countries, even they were multinational states.

Yugoslavia was more a regional-national federal socialist republic. That made it very easy to achieve independence when the communist centralized system collapsed.

Other reasons are:

- 1) the aid and approval of big neighbor countries, like Germany and the Vatican. The quick collapse of the former Yugoslavia and independence of Croatia and Slovenia were caused with these countries' help, and these countries independence gave legitimacy to further division and independence.
- 2) the inflow of armaments. Enormous armament flow into the former Yugoslavia from neighbor countries because of the lack of need of armament

²⁴ Iwata Masayoshi, *Premonition of Multinational conflict*, ed by Haba, Komorida, Tanaka, *Eastern Enlargement of Europe*, Iwanami System, 2006. Western Balkan's Peace stabilization and Economic development ministers meeting, http://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/area/europe/w_balkans/gh.html

after the cold war.

3) the lack of the so called "EU effect". Other multinational countries like Romania and Slovakia also suffered nationality conflicts, but they had an aim to join to the EU, and it is said that EU criteria prevented these countries from making conflicts ²⁵.

After the Kosovo bombing in 1999, the presidential election, and general election at the end of 2000, the former Yugoslavia changed slowly to a representative parliamentary democracy by the intervention of the US and Western Europe. Therefore after a ten year setback, the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe was offered by the EU, for the aim of peace, democratization, human rights and economic development in 1999, and the negotiation with neighbor countries started in 2000. Erhard Buzek, former Austrian vice president became the special representative, and regional stabilization started in 2001. Croatia concluded at first this treaty, and started the negotiation for joining the EU in 2005. CEFTA (Central European Free Trade Agreement) was also extended to Balkan countries in 2006²⁶. Radical democracy in the Balkans is now slowly changing and is starting to go toward Europeanization.]

V. Xenophobic Nationalism and Conflict of National Interests (West-East Europe in the 2000s)

At present, xenophobic nationalism, which is more difficult than the previous two examples, is widening in all European countries.

After the Maastricht treaty (in 1993), the "Deficit of Democracy" was indicated in Western Europe. When the community's supranational authority becomes wider and that supranational structure decides the issues relevant to citizens, the question is raised about whether or not the profit of the enlargement of the EU can come down to general citizens, and whether or not the decision making of the EU is relevant to the people ²⁷.

However under globalization and deepening the regional integration, people call for a system that reflects the opinions of each country and nation,

²⁵ Shigeo Mutsushika, *Effect of NATO and EU Enlargement and its limit*, *Annual Journal of JARREES*, no.28, 1999

²⁶ About the CEFTA (Central European Free Trade Association) reform and Enlargement is, <http://www.jetro.be/jp/business/eutopics/EUJP83.pdf#search=%22cefta%E3%80%812006%E5%B9%B4%22>

²⁷ About EU and citizens, see *EU and Citizen*, ed. by Toshiro Tanaka & Katsuhiko Shoji, Keio Gijuku Univ. Shuppankai, 2005, Deleck Heater, translated by Tanaka and Sekine, *What is the citizen right*, Iwanami shoten, 2002.

and the interest of each citizen does not always fit or deepen the mutual understanding; rather they conflict with each other.

The friction of national Interests between Western Europe and new comers; Central and Eastern Europe is the archetype example, like the immigrant question, agrarian CAP subsidizes question, and constitutional law. Because of these questions, the budget zero-sum game might be started between old affiliated countries and newly affiliated countries, and/or between budget donation countries and budget vested interest countries.

The author will show very briefly these three problems.

1) Immigrant Questions

Concerning the immigrant questions, there are two borders: One is the enlarged EU's border, and the second is the old border between old and new comer counties.

This question includes the Schengen treaty, too.

The Schengen treaty, which took effect in 1995, secured the free movement of people, goods, services and capital.

The countries which concluded this treaty can go freely across the borders. However, raising the number of immigrants in Germany, France, the UK and other countries, and with unemployment still remaining, it might be very difficult to admit immigrants from newcomer countries.

That is why just before the enlarged EU by 25 countries, the limits of immigrants were set at 2+3+2 years (longest 7 years) by each country.

This was not good enough for newcomers, because the free movement of four things (People, goods, services, capital) is the first 4 criteria of 31 by the Copenhagen criteria, and candidate countries had to have severely cleared these conditions. The Polish government said that the immigrants from Poland are not all are Polish, but many are Russian, Belarus, Ukrainian, and others who are outside of the European border, and due to a big wage difference and unemployment are obliged to go into Western Europe ²⁸.

So newcomer countries criticized the older countries, saying that it is double standard or Protectionism ²⁹.

²⁸ In this article it was impossible to indicate concrete border questions, but about the Kaliningrad border and Minority, see: Richard J. Cricks, *The Kaliningrad Question*, New York, 2002. *The EU & Kaliningrad*, ed. by James Baxendale et al., European Union, 2000. Kumiko Haba, *Challenge of the European Enlargement*, 2004-06. Kumiko Haba, *Enlarging Europe and Groping Central Europe*, Iwanami system, 20004, and about the Hungarian minority policy, see: Peter Kovacs, "Co-operation in the Spirit of the Schengen Agreement, *The Hungarian beyond the Borders*", <<Minorities Research>>, Budapest, 1998, pp.124-131., *Ethnic Geography of the Hungarian Minorities in the Carpathian Basin*, by Karolyn Kopsas and Eszter Kocsis-Hodosi, Budapest, 1998, 17. Kumiko Haba, *EU border, and the Schengen Wall*, <<Journal of International Politics>>, no 129, February, 2000.

²⁹ Bujko Bucar, University of Ljubljana, "The Issue of Double Standards in the EU Enlargement Process", <<Managing the (Re)creation of Divisions in Europe>>, 3rd Convention of CEEISA, NISA,

2) CAP Agrarian Subsidies and Citizen's Conflict

The CAP subsidies account for 40- almost 50% of the EU budget. There are three different interests: donors (Germany, the UK), vested interests, (France, Spain), and newcomers.

As an effect of agrarian farmers' wider dissatisfaction with CAP subsidies, the radical rights and conservatives grew in the general or presidential elections in France and other countries. For example, LePen's success in the French first presidential election, or growing populism, in which many farmers and unskilled workers vote not for the socialist party, but the more radical and EU-Skeptical party.

Under such a situation, the EU was obliged to decide to start to pay their CAP subsidies from a quarter of all possible subsidies, and in 10 years, they can get 100%. From such a situation, Leppel's Self Defense and Pies (Law and Justice Party) grew their power, and the Left Democrat Alliance was defeated in the general election in 2005.

3) Rejection of European Constitutional Treaty by Referendum in France. -----Strengthening of Chauvinistic Nationalism-----

On 29 May in France and 1 June in the Netherlands, the ratification of the European Constitutional Treaty was rejected by the referendum ³⁰.

Seeing this situation, the European summit in June 2005 decided to postpone the ratification indefinitely, and adopted the Plan D of Democracy, Dialogue and Debate ³¹.

It was said that this shows "the fatigue of the Enlarging EU", but in my opinion it rather comes from the "participating in democracy", not only the "Deficit of Democracy".

This means that:

- 1) as the result of "participating in democracy", like a referendum, citizen's antagonism is burned out against "others", who undermine their interests;
- 2) citizens declared that the EU interests do not directly connect with their own interest; rather, it binds or restricts their behavior;
- 3) to that effect, the civic claim for their interests emerged not as solidarity with neighbor countries, but as xenophobia which hates immigrants and enlargement of the EU.

and RISA, Moscow, 20-22 June 2002.

³⁰ About the European Constitutional Treaty, see; *Asahi Shinbun*, *Sankei Shinbun*, 30-31, May 2006, 1-2, June, 2006. Kumiko Haba, Postponed European Constitutional Treaty, National and Citizen Interest than Stronger EU, *Yomiuri News Paper*, 20 June, 2005.

³¹ Lithuanian EU Delegation, Ambassador, Michael Graham, Interview, 11 February, 2004.

As to the Constitutional Law itself, the Ambassador of the EU Delegation in Lithuania in 2003 expressed his personal skepticism about a fast and sloppy way of ratification.³¹⁾

It seems that diverse and gradual democracy by 25 countries weakens the EU Integration and slows down its development process by the European elite, but the new type of efficient, strong and integrated EU by 25 countries introduces the apprehension of the participating countries of the EU and hesitation of the citizens. And ironically, widening “participating democracy” as the reflection of “the Deficit of Democracy” realistically promotes xenophobic nationalism, not cooperation with neighbor citizen’s solidarity, but deepening the antagonism of their interests. Citizen’s interests in both old and new member countries are economic stability, prosperity, promotion of employment and solid social security. Citizens of new member countries thought that their interests can be realized by joining the EU, but citizens of Western Europe thought that they will be damaged by the enlargement of the EU and inflow of immigrants. So the Plan D (Democracy, Dialogue, and Debate) is very important, but not succeeded until now from seeing mutual understanding.

Considering the rejection of the Constitutional Law by referendum, now the enlargement of the EU is facing the difficult moment of dual duplicating dimension of conflict among nationalism and democracy, and elite and citizens.

VI. Epilogue ---The Remaining Subject of Nationalism and Democracy

As we saw, democratization and emerging nationalism after the end of the Cold War brought liberal nationalism, radical nationalism, and xenophobic nationalism in each region, and all of them emerged as an effect of each region’s style of democratization. Especially under globalization and regionalism, the “protection of the national interest” occurs widely, including developed countries in the 21st century. And by the significance of the citizen’s voice and “participating democracy”, each national interest is a mutual confrontation, as in an ironic zero-sum game which protects *each national interest* against global mutual interests.

Radical nationalism, especially ethnic cleansing, might be the darkest part of politics which killed “others” by violence or military force, but it is also one of the effects of democratization as populism which represent the majority’s voice. In the early 21st century, an amalgam of democratization, national interest and citizen’s interest, itself a positive claim, transforms to xenophobia toward “others” under the enlargement of the EU. That is, under globalization and regionalization, democratization in each region brings liberal nationalism

which surpasses Western Europe, and sometimes brings radical nationalism which shows the dark side of democracy. The problem is that democratization by citizen participation is not always successful, but sometimes brings xenophobia by the antagonism of each citizen.

How is it possible to cope with such liberal, radical, and xenophobic nationalism, each of which emerged from each citizen's (farmer and unemployed) actual conditions and urgent demands? It completely depends on the successful execution of the Lisbon Strategy: employment, social security, and economic development. At the start and interruption of the negotiation for Western Balkan and Turkey's joining the EU, immigration and agrarian questions could possibly bring more severe conflicts. The subject of how to manage and adjust the conflict of each interest between the EU "unification priority" centripetal force and citizen participation and nationalism, and how to develop these interests together is vitally significant for the future of the enlarging EU.

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